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reading and writing, but they are intelligent just the same. They have little power of organization, but they keenly resent oppression and are keenly alive to their economic needs and personal safety. Furthermore, there are no more intelligent men anywhere among nations than are to be found among the educated classes of Russia. Many of these fine-grained and capable men, driven from their homes, are in Paris, assisting in the reorganization necessary to a reordered living in Russia.

The Palestine situation seems serious enough. But even here we are not sure that the Mohammedan world is sufficiently organized, sufficiently oppressed, sufficiently aroused, sufficiently ignorant to begin a war, holy or otherwise, against the Christian world which includes the United States, with its terrible machinery for slaughter ready and near at hand.

Furthermore, our correspondent writes under date of May 1; and conditions change, and change with rapidity. The picture of May 1 may not be the picture of Paris now; at least there may be some lights laid upon the international canvas since his departure from Europe. In any event, we need to remind ourselves of three conspicuous and encouraging facts. The representatives of the nations at Paris are trying as best they can to make a recrudescence of such a war impossible; second, whatever the outcome of this particular treaty, the world is evidently going to have other congresses in the interest of a governed world; and third, there are two articles in the text of the League of Nations Covenant appearing in the first draft and substantially unchanged in the last, which relate fundamentally to what has been accomplished in the direction of international peace and to what can be accomplished in that direc-The articles are articles 13 and 14. articles are so basal that we print them here. They need to be read and reread. They are:

ARTICLE XIII.

The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact, which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a

permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

May

The United States Senate will not disagree with these articles. The people of the United States will not oppose them. If the nations of the world are to retain any two articles of the League of Nations they will retain these two. That they are there in the Covenant is encouragement to all familiar with the climb of the nations toward international justice.

The picture at Paris, May 1, was a dark picture. It may still be dark. We have no doubt that it is. But there are lights across that darkness.

RACE PREJUDICE AND MILITARY CASTE

A BOARD of army officers sitting at Camp Meade, Maryland, February 6, 1919, to investigate and make recommendations relative to the fitness of a colored officer, who had been in service over seas, for admission into the regular army made the following recommendation: "The board therefore recommends that he be not examined for appointment in the regular army. Reason—Unqualified by reason of qualities inherent in the Negro race. An opinion of the board based on the testimony of five white officers serving with the 368th Infantry, negroes are deficient in moral fiber and force of character, rendering them unfit as officers and leaders of men."

On April 18, the Commission on After-War Problems of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in a letter to Secretary Baker of the War Department, called attention to the action of this board and stated:

While we confess to an overwhelming sense of chagrin, we are nevertheless mindful of the fact that the Nation, all things considered, has just passed through the most trying period in its history. This makes apparent the possibilities of errors, irregularities, indiscretions and over-stepping of authority by officials in their individual capacity or in group relationship. We have now and then heard it stated on the part of non-officials that Negro officers holding commissions would not be admitted into the regular army. We were not prepared, however, to note the use of such inexcusable, unjustifiable and reprehensible language as is found in the enclosed copy setting forth the "recommendations" of the Board.

In the name of the Negro youth who so recently made the supreme sacrifice that the world might be made safe for Democracy; in the name of our heroic dead who fell in the shock of battle along the trail of the Nation's bloody combats from Bunker Hill to Carrizal, we challenge the statement that Negroes "by reason of qualities inherent in the Negro race" are rendered "unfit as officers and leaders of men."

If it is the fixed policy of the Government to act upon the theory that Negroes are lacking in "inherent qualities" to fit them for officers in the Regular Army, we would greatly appreciate a plain statement to that effect.

Leaders of the Negro race in the United States, like Professor Dubois, do not hesitate to say that this is a typical instance of the determined policy on the part of the regular army staff to carry the race boycott to its logical conclusion. It so happens, however, that there is a large body of unassailable evidence furnished both by the highest French military authorities and by high commanding officers in the recent war, who were drawn from the National Guard, which gives the lie to this charge of incompetency and of inherent defects of Negro officers fighting in France.

If any one doubts the existence of race discrimination in the United States Army, both in the home camps and in the expeditionary forces, he has but to get in touch with persons of Afro-American affiliations who served in the army, or to read the press which reflects their opinions. How keen and bitter their resentment is, how easily it leads many of the Negro race to look with favor on radicalism imported from Russia and Germany, and how seriously troubled conservative Negroes are at the waxing revolt of the younger generation, it would be well for whites north and south to know much more accurately than most of them now do. This radicalism is steadily preached by a propagandist press with headquarters in New York City, the goal being "justice," that is, as they say, the overthrow of capitalism. Playing on the resentment aroused by discrimination shown by most whites toward men of color, and adding to this already smouldering fire the inflammable oil of "class hatred," these Leninites work on, and with marked suc-

Nor is the spirit of caste within the army displaying itself adversely solely against the Negro. No one who has read the proceedings of the convention of the American Legion just held in St. Louis to organize on a national scale the men and women who served in the war or who has analyzed the interviews given with officers and privates that from time to time have appeared in the press of the country since censorship was "off" can fail to have noted the open or covert attacks on the "regular," professional military man, usually a West Pointer, for his expressed or implied attitude of superiority to the non-professional soldier. Just how much of this resentment of the nonprofessional to the "regular" is justifiable in the light of experience undergone during the war, we do not assume to say now. But could it exist in such volume and intensity, were there not some basis for it?

MR. ROOT PRESIDENT OF THE INSTI-TUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The most important and permanent organization of international jurists is known as the *Institut de Droit International*. Through the influence of such men as Francis Lieber, German exile to the United States; David W. Field, James B. Miles, formerly Secretary of the American Peace Society, this organization was begun in Ghent in 1873. This Institute has held 28 sessions as follows:

1. Ghent, 1873. 2. Geneva, 1874. 3. The Hague, 1875. 4. Zurich, 1877. 5. Paris, 1878. 6. Brussels, 1879. 7. Oxford, 1880. 8. Turin, 1882. 9. Munich, 1883. 10. Brussels, 1885. 11. Heidelberg, 1887. 12. Lusanne, 1888. 13. Hamburg, 1891. 14. Geneva, 1892. 15. Paris, 1894. 16. Cambridge, 1895. 17. Venice, 1896. 18. Copenhagen, 1897. 19. The Hague, 1898. 20. Neuchâtelle, 1900. 21. Brussels, 1902. 22. Edinburgh, 1904. 23. Ghent, 1906. 24. Florence, 1908. 25. Paris, 1910. 26. Madrid, 1911. 27. Christiania, 1912. 28. Oxford, 1913.

A cable from Paris announces that an extraordinary session of the Institute of International Law convened at Paris, May 10. At this meeting Mr. Elihu Root was elected president for the first regular session after the war, which session will be held in Washington about October 1, 1920. The Institute, the members of which cannot exceed sixty, is an exclusively scientific association without official character. As set forth in its constitution its object is to aid the growth of international law.

- 1. By endeavoring to state the general principles of the science in such a way as to satisfy the sense of justice of the civilized world.
- 2. By giving assistance to every serious attempt at the gradual and progressive codification of international law
- 3. By advocating the official acceptance of those principles that have been recognized as being in harmony with the needs of modern societies.
- 4. By contributing, within the limits of its competence, both to the maintenance of peace and to the observance of the laws of war;
- 5. By examining the difficulties which may arise in the interpretation or application of the law and by giving expression, where needful, to reasoned legal opinions in doubtful or controverted cases.
- 6. By assisting, through publications, public instruction and all other means, in the triumph of those principles of justice and humanity which should govern the relations between peoples.

The Institute of International Law accepted in 1912